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PERSONAL NAMES IN ESTONIAN PLACE NAMES
(ESPECIALLY ON ISLAND SAAREMAA)

Forenames current in Estonia fall into four main categories: (1) ancient Estonian personal names that have been taken from historical sources so far as they were used after the 12th century; (2) forenames of Hebrew, Greek, Roman, German, Swedish, etc. origins that were enforced upon the Estonians in the 13th—16th centuries by the Catholic Church and adapted by the people; (3) international names that were familiar to the Estonians at the turn of the 19th century in both adapted and unadapted forms; (4) names composed at the end of the previous and the beginning of the present century, the native Estonian names of the so-called artificial origin.

In place names mostly the first two categories are met.

Ancient Estonian personal names are rare even in the place names. Judging by the archival records, the most wide-spread, i. e. the most frequent pagan forename in Northern Estonia was a derivation of the word *meel* 'sense', while in Southern Estonia the personal name derived from the word *lemb*- 'love' was habitual. These two are also the most frequent ancient forenames in modern place names. (Among the current first names only one derivation of each can be found: *Meelis* and *Lembit*). In modern place names the *meel*-part is more common in Eastern and South-Eastern Estonia as well as in Saaremaa: *Meel*-, *Mel*- (*Mela*-, *Meld*-, *Meli*-, *Mell*-, *Melt*-, *Mels*-), *Määl*-, *Mäl*- (*Mäle*-, *Mäli*-, *Mäll*-, *Mälu*-), the corresponding place names being: *Khk Meelu* (farm), *Kaa Meedla* (village; in earlier records: 1560 *Hof zu Mehlden*, *Mehlen*, 1645 *Miedell*, *Mehedell*, 1690 *Medell*, *Mehelden*, 1782 *Medla mois* (Kallasmaa 1996 : 211)), *Nis Meldema* (farm), *Iis Meleka* (farm), *Kan Melikuuse* (farm), *Hlj Mella* (farm), *Võn Melliste* (village; 1582 *Melzy mlyn*, 1588 *Meczy albo Melzy* (Simm 1973 : 95), 1638 *Meliste*, 1744 *Mellitš*, 1758 *Melitz*, 1798 *Mellist* (Simm 1973 : 68)), *Juu Melsamägi* (hill), *Kaa Meltsi* (farm), *Muh Mäla* (village), *Phl Mäledumäe* (farm), *Hls Mälüküla* (village), *LNg Mälla* (farm), *San Mälu* (farm), *Tõs Määluka* (farm), *Pha Määlu* (farm).

The *lemb*-names are sporadically met all over Estonia. Their number, however, is smaller than that of the *meel*-names. The most frequent among them is *Lembit(u)*. This can be explained by the historical person *Lembitu*, the elder of ancient Estonians. In the names of farms some other first names of ancient Estonians can be met:

Khk Kaibiste (farm; 1617/1618 *Kaweste/Caumbeste Simo*, 1622 *Kaibeste Simon*; 1617/1618 *Kawiste Jürgen*, 1618/1619 *Caibeste Jürgen*, 1645 *Kaibe Siemon*,

Kaybeste Jurgen, Kaibiste Michell, 1692 Kaibaste Thoma Mickel, 1782 Kaibiste Tõnno, 1795 Kaibiste Hindrich), Kaibisülla jõgi (river) < Caibas, Kaybe, Kaybi (Kallasmaa 1996 : 71, about this name see Palli 1959 : 602; Roos 1961 : 345);

Khk *Koimla* (village; 1592 *Koymell, 1645 Koymel, Koymall, Koymell, 1731 Koimel*) — the name with component *-meel*: *Kaumeel/Koimeel*, respectively (Tiik 1976b : 414);

Khk *Immudu* (Kettunen 1955 : 14: *Himmode*) (farm; 1617 *Himodt Klement, 1618/1619 Hiematt Klement, 1691 Himode Adams Sohn Jürgen, 1738 Himmoto Tõnnis, 1744 Himmote Tõnnis 1750 Himmode Tõnnis*), Muh *Immudikivi* (stone), Põi *Immudioja* (small stream) (Kallasmaa 1996 : 46), Mih *Immutimägi* (hill), Khn *Immutlaid* (island), Ote *Immutu läte* (source, well) < *Himot, Himut, Imot, Imut*.

Krj *Koikla* (village; 1399 *Coykele, 1453 Koykell, 1592 Koikell, 1645 Koickull, Koickel, Koykul, 1684 Coykele, 1731 Koicküll*), Khk *Koige* (farm), Pha *Koigermama* (hayland), Põi *Koigi* (village; 1645 *Koyk, 1731, 1782 Koick*); Rap *Koigi* (village; Liber Census Daniae *Koie, 1523 Koick, 1840 Koigi* (Kettunen 1955 : 31)), Hlj Amb Pee *Koigi* (villages), Hlj Jõh Põi VII Mih Aud Rap Juu Amb Pai Pee Lai *Koigi* (farms), Kan *Koigera* (village), Aud *Koige-Sauna ~ Koigi-Sauna, Koige-Toa* (farms), Pai *Koigi-Mardi* (farm) Mus *Koigibe* (hayland), Krj *Koigri* (17th century *Koiger, 1783 Koigri Maa*), Pil *Koigissaare* (village), VII *Koika-Mäe* (farm; Kalli 1592 *Hans Kõke, 1627 Hans Koicke, Lööne 1617/1618 Koikest Jürgen, 1627 Keykust Jürgen, 1630 Koicke Jürgen* (Tiik 1977 : 286)), VII *Koikasaadu* (farm), *Koikasaadud* (fields), Kaa *Koikemets*, Pst *Koigu* (village; in earlier records: *Koigokülla, Koicke, Koyk, Koykül* (Kettunen 1955 : 167)), Ote Urv *Koigu* (villages), Khn VJg Äks Pst Hls Ote *Koigu* (farms) < *Koik* (Kettunen 1955 : 31: *Koikla < *Koiküla*); all in all about 50 place names.

As a result of the 13th century crusades Estonia was conquered by Germans and the Estonians were christened. German priests brought along their names, too. International names have reached Estonia just via Germans. Of course, Estonia's isolation prior to the German conquest was not absolute, as, for example, the personal names *Imme, Immo* (Germanic names) in place names *Ans Imari* (village), Khk *Himmiste* (village) testify.

Christianization introduced a gradual change of Estonian names. Although pagan names were still used, the initiative in namegiving was in the hands of the Church. As it has been mentioned, most of the Hebrew, Greek, Roman, German, etc. names have reached Estonians through the German language and the Germans. By the 15th century the names were fixed and commonly used. The influence of the Church and Christian names on Estonians deepened during and after the Reformation. By now we have a number of adaptations that can be treated as independent names, although originally they come from full names, e. g. *Johannes* has given us *Ants, Hannes, Hans, Juhan, Juku, Juks, Jaan, Naan, Juss, Hann, Juhu, Ants, Jaanus*, etc. Some of them are probably the shortened German forms that reached Estonia abbreviated already. All the adaptations are also met in place names: Plv *Lutsu-Hannese* (farm), especially frequent in Northern Estonia *Juhani* (farm), Jõh, Pha, Khn, Sim, Kod *Juku* (farm), Khk *Juksirahu* (reef), all over Estonia *Jaani* (farm), Khk, Rid, Vig, Lih, Jür, Kad, Plt, Pil, Vil, Nõo *Naanu* (farm), mostly in Northern and Western Estonia *Jussi* (farm), etc.

Alongside with the adaptations used at present, there are also those that cannot be found anymore, as they were frequent in the Catholic usage but rejected by the Lutheran one: *Jahiste* (farm) < *Joachim, Koordi* (farm, village) < *Koort* < German *Konrad, Roos* (farm) < *Roos* < *Ambrosius, Roni* (farm) < *Hieronimus,*

Purga, Purgase, Purgatsi, Purka (farms), *Purku, Poka* (villages) may be derived from the names *Burchard, Burkart* with their shortened forms *Bugge, Buck, Bock*. *Korjuse* as a name for both farms and villages presents a shortened form of *Gregorius* (Est *korjus* 'corpse'). As the latter example testifies, adaptation of foreign names is influenced by folk etymology (Kallasmaa 1995 : 763—766; 1998 : 228—232). Some more examples: *Kõverduma koppel* (paddock) from the personal name *Gephard* (Est *kõverduma* 'crook, curve'), *Lutika* (farm) < *Ludwig* (Est *lutikas* : *lutika* 'bedbug'), *Lussu* (farm), *Lussualune* (hayland), *Lussumets* (forest) < (P)*lussu, Lussi* < *Ambrosius* (Nissilä 1961 : 192) (Est *luss* : *lussu* 'bedbug'), *Lutsu* (farm) < *Ludwig* (Est *luts* : *lutsu* 'burbot').

Most of the names of Swedish origin have reached Estonia via German and the Germans. Often the Swedish and German namelore cannot be differentiated. Swedish names are frequent on the islands and in Noarootsi (a coastal region) where Swedish settlements were. To some extent Swedish names can be met in the counties of Harju and Viru (Northern Estonia). The dominant first name of deducible Swedish origin is *Olav* (*Olof*) in the forms *Ool* and *Oll*. The farmsteads called *Oola, Oole, Oolu, Olli* are mostly situated on islands Saaremaa and Hiiumaa (in Western Estonia) and Northern Estonia. Swedes lived in the coastal areas of island Saaremaa as late as the 14th century and traces of their presence have been left in place names: *Jäm Veedri* (farm) < *Schweder* from old Scandinavian forename *Svegðir* (Tiik 1977 : 415), *Ans Jõpi* (farm) < *Jepppe, Jep, Nuudi* (farm), *Nuudinõmm* (forest) < *Knut, Tuksikopli, Tuksi, Tuksu* (farms) < *Toke, Toks, Torsna, Tortna* (farms) < *Torsten* (Kallasmaa 1996 : 443, 439), the majority of place names containing the first name *Eerik* are probably of Swedish origin.

Slavic substance in place names can be met in the southeasternmost part of Estonia, in Setumaa. The inhabitants of the region were Orthodox and therefore their names were taken from the Russian Orthodox Calendar. Being linguistically Estonians and speaking an Estonian dialect but having a Russian name led to the formation of a number of adaptations that can be observed in place names: *Ermo-Теро* (farm) < Russian *Ермолай + Степан*, *Väädori* (farm) < Russian *Федор*, *Hodori* (farm) < Russian *Федор*, *Hade* (farm) < Russian *Фаддеу*, *Hedoda* (farm) < Russian *Федот*, *Hipi* (farm) < *Hipp* < Russian *Филунн*, *Ignase* (village) < Russian *Игнаша* < *Игнат*, *Illo* (farm) < Russian *Илия*, etc. Russian names are to some extent met alongside the whole stretch of Lake Peipsi in Eastern Estonia. The farmstead names derived from Russian personal names found in other places, for example on islands Saaremaa and Muhu, are of recent origin, as since the middle of the 19th century a number of Estonians changed from their Lutheran creed into the Orthodox one: *Seiu* (farm) < Russian *Алексеу*, *Kriiska* (farm) < Russian *Гриша* < *Григорий*, *Veiu* (farm) < Russian *Матвей*, ?*Федор* (Kallasmaa 1996 : 373, 126, 489).

A number of place names, however are etymologically opaque. Leo Tiik, a geographer, has attempted to explain a portion of such names by comparing the place-names of island Saaremaa with those found in a Frisian lexicon of names (Tiik 1976a; 1976b; 1977) and traced many common features. How the names of Frisian origin reached Saaremaa has not been clarified yet, but they may have come via Low-German. Considering the location of Saaremaa, the biggest Estonian island, and the nearby trade routes, it can be suggested that its inhabitants must have been in contact with foreign seamen before the 13th century already. Thus, it can be presumed that place names could reach Estonia this way from different regions and some of them become rooted.

The bulk of names current on Saaremaa at the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th centuries was surprisingly large, especially if compared with those on the taxation lists dating back to the end of the 18th or the beginning of the 19th centuries. A lot of such names, however, have been preserved in place names in adapted forms: Ans **Püdinge* (farm; 1592 *Jacob Buting*); L. Tiik explains the surname by the Frisian male forenames *Bute*, *Butto*, *Butta*, *But* (Tiik 1976b : 415); Muh *Lõetsa* (village) has been related to the Frisian male forename *Loetse*; Pha *Ilpla* (village) to the Frisian male names *Ilp*, *Ilb*, *Ilbe* (Tiik 1976a : 488); Kaa *Lõukse* (farm) is thought to be an equivalent to the Frisian male *Liuwe*, the diminutives of the latter being *Liuke*, *Lieuwke* (Tiik 1977 : 233, 238). It seems that one- or two-syllabled names, being "palatable" for the Estonians, spread easily.

Considering the simple construction one should not exclude the possibility of independent emergence of the names in different localities. At the present stage of research one is still bound to see those names as loans of either Frisian or some other origin.

A family name as a part of an Estonian place name is a recent phenomenon that can be considered consisting of two layers. First, Estonian names for manor houses derived from the German surnames of the landlords. These names date back to the period when the Estonians had no family names of their own: *Gahlen* > *Kaali*, *Bellingshausen* > *Pilguse*, *Pilkuse*, *Radingius* > *Tiinuse*, *Stryk* > *Triigi*, *Scharenberg* > *Kaarepere*. This layer is the older one and has probably arisen in the 16th–18th centuries. The other layer is quite recent and comprises the place names originating from the Estonian family names. Estonians got family names in the 2nd quarter of the 19th century. The surnames became place names in the 1920s–1930s after the lands of the manors were divided into small holdings under the provisions of the Estonian landreform. In 1930s the Government decreed all the new holdings to have a name. The names (mostly artificial) were given but in most cases the communities did not accept them and in everyday usage people referred to the farms by the family names of their owners. So, a holding was named *Piliste* by hayland *Pili* but as the family living there was *Kallasmaa*, the holding was referred to as *Kallasmaa*. In some cases the official name of the holding was known only to its inhabitants, while the village knew it by the family name of its owner.

Adaptations of personal names in place names are in the genitive case. Estonian settlement names containing personal names are mostly elliptical. The genitive attributive part of the name has been preserved and the geographical term dropped: the farmstead names *Matsi* and *Jaagu* come from the personal names *Mats* and *Jaak*, the parish name *Mihkli* comes from the first name *Mihkel*, the parish names *Viru-Jaagupi* and *Pärnu-Jaagupi* from *Jaagup*, the village name *Pälli* from the personal name *Päll*, etc. A place name derived from a personal name may also be in the genitive plural: the farmstead names *Teoste* < *Teo(s)* < *Mattheus*, *Hannuste* < *Hannus* < *Johannes*; the village name *Himmiste* 1592 *Himmy*, 1645 *Himmuß*, 1731 *Himmiste Suhr Iack*, 1826 *Himmiste* (Kallasmaa 1996 : 46).

The personal name may be formed with the help of the suffix *-se* that probably comes from the so-called *-ne* and *-s* words of the Estonian language. The suffix is, as a rule, used to form adjectives but it is also met in nouns. In place names the suffix *-se* is mostly used to build farmstead names from personal names: *Koordise* < *Koort* < *Konrad*; *Ooluse* < *Ool* < *Olav*; *Lalise* < *Lall*. In some cases the *s*-part is already present in the full name serving as the basis for the

adaptation but it remains unclear whether in the place name it should be interpreted as a derivation of this or a later *se*-affix: *Mardise* < *Mart* < *Martinus*, *Korise* < *Kori(s)* < *Gregorius*, *Georgius*; *Jürise* < *Jüri* < *Georgius*; *Pendise* < *Pent* < *Benedictus*. This affix, too, may be expressed in the plural as in farmstead names *Jüriste*, *Pendiste*.

The suffix indicating the genitive case has changed in the course of time: the village name *Simisti* < personal name *Simm* + suffix *-ste* > *-sti*; the farmstead name *Lõunati* < personal name *Lõun* < *Leonhard* + *-te* > *-ti*. Another suffix frequently met is the diminutive *-kese* < *-kese*: *Laasikese* (farm) < *Laas*. The personal name *Laas* can be a result of the adaptation of various names as *Gelasius*, *Laurentius*, *Claudius*, *Nikolaus*.

Compound names are two-part names consisting of a personal name plus a personal name; a personal name and an appellative, or an appellative and a personal name. In cases where the personal name occupies the second position in the place name, it may have been shortened beyond recognition: the farmstead names *Jaaguri* < *Jaagu-Jüri*, *Laasitu* < *Laasi-Otu*, *Reinadu* < *Reinu-Aadu*, *Timuri* < ?*Tinni-Juri*, *Tõnuri* < *Tõnu-Jürna*, *Tõnu-Jurna* (Kallasmaa 1996 : 50, 160, 336, 431, 451).

As expected, the personal names met in place names reflect contacts with the Germans who have given the Estonians the major part of their *namelore*. To a lesser extent, names have been adopted from the Swedes and the Russians. In place names we meet adaptations, not full names because by the time the borrowed full names were current in Estonia, the place names were fixed already. The first names in common use at present do not show even distribution among the place names all over Estonia. Thus, the farm name *Juhani* characterizes Northern Estonia, *Mihkli* the southern part of Western Estonia and the eastern part of Saaremaa, *Jussi* Western Estonia. It reflects the fashionable forenames of the period which were given to farmsteads. The former fashionable forenames, out of use at present, can still be found in place names. However, these forenames in place names are rare.

Abbreviations

Amb — Ambla, **Ans** — Anseküla, **Aud** — Audru, **Hlj** — Haljala, **Hls** — Halliste, **Iis** — Iisaku, **Juu** — Juuru, **Jöh** — Jõhvi, **Jäm** — Jämaja, **Jür** — Jüri, **Kaa** — Kaarma, **Kad** — Kadrina, **Kan** — Kanepi, **Khk** — Kihelkonna, **Khñ** — Kihnu, **Kod** — Kodavere, **Krj** — Karja, **Lai** — Laiuse, **Lih** — Lihula, **LNg** — Lääne-Nigula, **Mih** — Mihkli, **Muh** — Muhu, **Mus** — Mustjala, **Nis** — Nissi, **Ote** — Otepää, **Pai** — Paide, **Pee** — Peetri, **Pha** — Püha, **Phl** — Pühalepa, **Pil** — Pilstvere, **Plt** — Põltsamaa, **Plv** — Põlva, **Pst** — Paistu, **Pöi** — Pöide, **Rap** — Rapla, **Rid** — Ridala, **San** — Sangaste, **Sim** — Simuna, **Tõs** — Tõstamaa, **Vig** — Vigala, **Vil** — Viljandi, **VJg** — Viru-Jaagupi, **Vil** — Valjala, **Võñ** — Võnnu, **Äks** — Äksi.

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МАРЬЯ КАЛЛАСМАА (Таллинн)

ЛИЧНЫЕ ИМЕНА В СОСТАВЕ ТОПОНИМОВ ЭСТОНИИ (ПРЕЖДЕ ВСЕГО О-ВА СААРЕМАА)

Эстонские личные имена можно разделить на четыре основные группы: 1) древнеэстонские имена, которые встречаются в исторических документах; 2) имена древнееврейского, греческого, римского, немецкого, шведского и иного происхождения, внедренные католической церковью в XIII—XVI вв; 3) международные имена XIX—XX вв., адаптированные как в их полной форме, так и в измененном виде; 4) национально-романтические и другие искусственно образованные имена, появившиеся в конце прошлого и в начале текущего столетия. В составе топонимов встречаются преимущественно личные имена первых двух групп.

В статье рассматриваются эстонские личные имена с *meel* (в составе топонимов в форме *Meel-*, *Mel-*, *Mela-*, *Meld-*, *Meli-*, *Melt-*, *Mels-* и *Mäle-*, *Mäli-*, *Mäll-*, *Mälu-*) и *lemb*. Кроме того, приводятся топонимы, образованные от личных имен *Himot*, *Kaibe*, *Kaumell/Koymell*, *Koik* и *Imme*, *Immo* (древнеэстонское происхождение последних двух ставится обычно под сомнение, вероятно — германское). Из более поздних заимствованных имен анализируются *Johannes* с его многочисленными вариантами, *Joachim*, *Konrad*, *Ambrosius*, *Burchard*, *Burkart*. Затрагивается и пара народных этимологий, возникших на основе модификаций личных имен.

Проблемы возникают при различении шведских и немецких имен, очевидно, шведскими по происхождению являются топонимы *Oola*, *Oolu*, *Oole*, *Olli* < *Olav* (*Olof*), скандинавский источник имеют названия с *Veetri*, *Jõpi*, *Nuudi* и *Eerik*.

Славянские компоненты встречаются в топонимах Юго-Восточной Эстонии, где население было православного вероисповедания и потому получили распространение соответствующие личные имена, которые нашли отражение в первую очередь в названиях хуторов. Более поздние славянские влияния обнаруживаются и на о-ве Сааремаа. Как в Сетумаа, так и на Сааремаа имена православного календаря в устах народа изменились до неузнаваемости: *Ermot-Tepo* < рус. *Ермолай* + *Степан*, *Väädori*, *Hodori* < рус. *Федор*, *Hade* < рус. *Фаддей*, *Hedoda* < рус. *Федот*, *Hipi* < *Hipp* < рус. *Филлип* и т.д.

В связи с более старыми топонимами Сааремаа рассматривалась и проблема т.н. фризского языка. Фризские личные имена успешно использовались при толковании трудно поддающихся этимологизации топонимов острова.

В заключительной части статьи автор останавливается на отражениях фамилий в топонимах Эстонии.